From the Author
to his excellent friend
J.r Clarke —
with the kindest regard.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE BEST MEANS OF CIVILIZING THE SUBJECTS

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA,

AND OF DIFFUSING

THE LIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

THROUGHOUT THE EASTERN WORLD.

BY

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——— MISERERE INOPUM SOCIORUM.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD TEIGNMOUTH;

IN TESTIMONY OF REGARD FOR THE ELEGANT EULOGIST,

THE FAITHFUL BIOGRAPHER,

AND

THE CONGENIAL FRIEND

OF SIR WILLIAM JONES;

THIS DISSERTATION

UPON SUBJECTS,

WHICH OCCUPIED AN INTERESTING SPACE

IN THE LARGE VIEWS OF THAT

GREAT AND GOOD MAN,

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

London,
June 11, 1805.

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THOUGH the allotted period of five months was undoubtedly inadequate to the proper investigation of those two great questions respecting India, which were lately proposed for compositions, in prose and in verse, to the University of Cambridge; I was induced to write on both, by considering that both demanded for their discussion a kindred train of reading, and that both were closely linked with my professional and favourite studies. If the result of my exertions, without branding me either for incompetency or for vanity, should fortunately be the increased happiness, civil or religious, of a single Hindu, I shall be abundantly satisfied.

My hesitation (for it is nothing more) with respect to the effects of a commercial charter, in it's immediate reference to the subject of this Dissertation, must be forgiven, as the natural consequence of my very circumscribed and imperfect views. Were my opinions however hostile to it's continuance, I think too highly of those, by whom the affairs of India are at present directed, to apprehend that my suggestions for the improvement of the immense human interest, over which they preside, would upon that account be less favourably received.

I know not, whether it will be to obtrude myself too prominently upon public notice, if I profess that with the twin

attempts, which I now submit to them, will most probably terminate my competitions for academical victory.

—*Hìc cæstus artemque repono.*

The increasing magnitude of my professional and other engagements begins imperiously to restrain me from every alien or inferiour occupation; and I resign the field of amicable contest to those, who can devote to it more time, or greater powers.

The MS. of this Dissertation is returned to the academical judges, with my sincere thanks for their civilities, for the purpose of enabling them to verify the substantial identity of the publication.

F. W.

A

DISSERTATION

" *On the best Means of civilizing the Subjects of the British Empire in India, and of diffusing the Light of the Christian Religion throughout the Eastern World.*"

In entering upon a discussion like the present, professing to suggest plans for the immediate improvement of sixty or seventy millions of people, and the contingent salvation of perhaps nearly one half of the human species, the mind pauses under the magnitude of the subject; and is struck with awe, as she contemplates the grandeur and magnificence of the scene spread before her. We view a country, which for extent, fertility, and population baffles the cold conceptions of European fancy: a country, of which in ancient times the looms supplied splendid apparel, and the fields abundant and permanent subsistence, when the skin-clad savages of Europe sought their precarious diet from the woods; and which, regarded in it's modern fortunes, has been the prey of successive hordes of fierce or rapacious adventurers, and the dungeon or the grave of it's afflicted inhabitants. Confining our observation however principally to it's existing state, we see this noble region, by the almost-continuous ravages of eight hundred years, reduced to the lowest degree of political wretchedness: with it's manufactures nearly ruined, and with a small portion only of it's exuberant soil brought into rude cultivation by a degraded and starving peasantry; while the rest of it's surface is abandoned to the beasts of the forest, or to the luxuriance of rank and useless vegetation. With reference to it's reli-

gious condition, we behold it divided between the followers of Brahma and Mohammed, separated indeed from each other by a long intervening space, but aliens alike from Christ, and strangers to the Covenant of grace. Of these erroneous and discordant religionists, the latter, with the usual composition of bigots, are a blind and bloody sect; making the diffusion of their faith a pretext of conquest, and presenting to their captives the horrid alternative of conversion or extermination, the koran or the sword. The former, on the contrary, are a mild and quiet people, free from the stronger tumults of the passions, with considerable powers of intellect and some excellencies of feeling; and, above all, distinguished by a pertinacious adherence to customs, manners, and opinions, of which history records no parallel, and which has alike withstood the unremitting sap of time, the fury of sanguinary persecution, and the seductive love of novelty, by some philosophers represented as inherent in the nature of man: on the other hand, too generally debased by servility, indolence, and avarice; indifferent to religion in her pure and abstract character, as influencing the heart and regulating the conduct; but enslaved by a wily priesthood, and abused by an absurd superstition—a superstition made aweful by the magnificence of it's temples and ceremonies, and strong by it's subtle intermixture in the concerns of common life; and a priesthood, enriched by the pious prodigality of pilgrims and of princes, upheld by the subordination of a well-constructed hierarchy, and protected by the accumulated reverence of an unascertained series of centuries.

To dispel this mass of darkness, which hangs over the dreary recesses of Mecca and Benares, to induce the Mohammedan to abjure his prophet and the Hindu his idol, to turn backward the shadow on the dial of Ahaz [1], is above the operation of mere human power. The light, and the first impulse, must proceed from above. But, impressed with the full importance of the object, we must not be deterred by the arduousness of it's achievement.

(1) 2 Kings xx. 11.

We must reflect, that *with God all things are possible*; that his Providence generally condescends to make use of man, as his principal instrument; that, under his influence, the foolish and the weak act with wisdom and with efficacy; and that even *out of the mouth of babes and sucklings he can perfect praise.* We must remember, likewise, that Christ himself committed the treasure of the Gospel to earthen vessels; that it's propagation was his final command to his disciples; and that the *least of all seeds*, by his blessing, may *become a tree, so that the fowls of the air shall come and lodge in it's branches.*

These arguments would press powerfully upon virtuous minds, in a question respecting a population like that of India, even if it were unconnected with them by any nearer ties than those of a common nature. But with us the hour of such honourable generosity is past; and we are imperiously precluded, in the present instance, from the exercise of disinterested benevolence. India is now identified with Great-Britain. Long endeared to us by the value of her traffic, "which has always formed an æra in the prosperity of those nations by whom it has been successively possessed," she has lately, from the growing incumbrances of our finance and the unsettled condition of Europe, become vital to our existence. In the debates, which twenty years ago convulsed our senate, however widely the contending parties differed about the mode of administering the affairs of our Asiatic empire, they concurred in asserting it's importance. By their unanimous voice India was represented as the chief source of strength to our navy, and of wealth to our exchequer: and what force have not the events of the last twenty years added to this powerful testimony!

But, whatever may be her claims upon our gratitude, upon our justice her demands must be recognized as clear and peremptory. In our intercourse with this unhappy country, it must be acknowledged that we have hitherto been anxious to increase the number, rather than to promote the welfare, of our subjects: and there are upon record, it may be feared, not only in the memories of men but in the eternal register of Heaven, numerous

instances of mercantile and military abuse; of peculators, who have put with impunity

> Into their overgorged and bloated purse
> The wealth of Indian provinces;

and of warriors who, induced by the love of rapine alone, have torn from her brow "the plumed and jewelled turban," have desolated her streets with famine, and drenched her fields with blood. Whether the sword however have been often drawn without adequate cause, or often detained from the scabbard after reasonable reparation, is not within our present purpose to inquire: but, on the most favourable determination of this question, it will well become us to examine how we may best compensate the evils, which we have occasioned, even allowing them to have been only such as follow in the train of justifiable war.

And at what period, more favourable to our views of benevolence or of gratitude, can we commence this mighty attempt? Our recent acquisitions of territory, by widening the sphere of our action and extending the conciliation of our manners, equally at least we trust with the terrour of our arms, considerably enhance the probability of success. The Genius of investigation has burst the fetters, imposed upon him by commercial and professional engagements. India has thrown open to him the temple of Sanscrit literature, hitherto trodden only by the profoundest of her scholars and the holiest of her priests. To his ardent researches has been disclosed the venerable code, which combines and regulates her religious and her secular duties; and Brahmins themselves have remitted their habitual jealousy of the profane intruders of Europe. We now know wherein resides their strength, and, what is of still more utility, their weakness. In the spirit of adventure we have an agent equal, under judicious control, to the accomplishment of the greatest purposes. The machine of Archimedes is in our possession, with a station adequate to the command of it's powers. The fatal lock of Brahma is discovered, and the shears are committed to our hands.

But in an enterprize of such momentous consequence, where the smallest divergency in the outset may lead to inextricable errour, every step must be guarded with the most vigilant circumspection. The least precipitation in the process may cause a detonation which, even from that extreme point, would shake the very centre of the empire. The rooted attachment indeed of the Hindus to the customs of their ancestors, which has hitherto withstood the violence of the Arabian and the intrigues of the Romish church, is now slowly giving way to the silent influence of our social and civil superiority; but, though they have ceased to be inflexible, they are yet far from pliancy. They throng around our missionaries, it is true, with acknowledgments of their ignorance, and with entreaties for instruction; they admit the contradictions of their own scriptures, and solicit copies of ours; but arguing from other parts of their conduct, from their readiness to propose quibbles and to detect flaws, from their ordinary inattention to what is delivered and their subsequent dismission of it from their minds, the preacher finds it difficult to pronounce, whether he be not principally indebted for his audience to the levity and curiosity of the individuals who compose it. In a single interview, they listen, hesitate, believe; they depart, they doubt, they forget.

Admitting, however, that they have at length begun to perceive the gross vanity of their traditions, the palpable absurdity of their ceremonies, and the insulting despotism of their priests, yet much time will still be requisite for the eradication of a system, which for many ages has possessed and flourished in the soil. The jungle must be cleared of it's giant trunks, the main ramifications of the roots must be removed, and the ground itself must be tempered and mellowed by proper culture, before the good seed can be committed to it's bosom with any prospect of successful vegetation. Without previous preparation to throw the full blaze of Christianity on the feeble vision of India, plunged as she has been for centuries in the depths of a superstition crowded, like her own Elephanta, with horrid objects of worship,

would realize the sublime description of the poet, when he represents the monarch of the shades as trembling,

μη οἱ ὑπερθε
Γαιαν αναρρηξειε Ποσειδαων ενοσιχθων,
Οικια δε θνητοισι και αθανατοισι φανειη
Σμερδαλε' ευρωεντα·

But here a preliminary question arises, whether civilization and conversion should advance together; or, if one of them must go before, to which of them the precedency should be assigned. The claim of each to preference is supported by specious arguments and high authorities. In behalf of the priour introduction of Christianity it has been plausibly contended, that refinement is usually accompanied by a train of vices, in their nature most hostile to the spirit of the Gospel: that religion alone produces and establishes those moral habits, which lead directly to intellectual and social excellence; that to temperance she gives the stability of principle, and to industry the incentive of duty; and that these two virtues, when unsupported by her invigorating influence, are incapable of resisting the allurements of indolence and the impetuosity of passion. On the other hand it is asserted, with perhaps more of logical and historical induction, that Christianity pre-supposes the existence of refined rather than of savage vices; that industry and temperance, though from religion they may derive their ulteriour and more weighty sanctions, powerfully recommend themselves by the health which they preserve, and by the comforts which they bestow: that the Gospel was the last of a series of dispensations, each adapted to the increased civilization of it's respective period; and was itself revealed amidst the high lustre of the Augustan age, when Rome had comprehended within the pale of her dominion the whole of the polished world: and that, even subsequently to it's first disclosure, various measures of instruction were studiously accommodated to the varying degrees of ignorance, which pre-

vailed amongst the objects of it's author's divine mission. But these are investigations, more strictly applicable to the sluggards of Greenland, or to the sensualists of the South Sea, than to the partially-refined subjects of our Indian empire. To the latter if we impart the great and uncontroverted doctrines of our faith, in luminous arrangement and perspicuous language, the communication will assist our temporal efforts in diffusing amongst them the blessings of science and civilization; while these, in return, will prepare their minds for the reception of the deeper and more mysterious truths of Christianity.

A second doubt occurs, with regard to the mode of conducting our projected enterprize. The Baptist-ministers in Bengal, objecting to the dispersion of our teachers, have asserted (and apparently with much truth) that less is gained by the extent, than is lost by the feebleness, of the assault[2]. *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.* By the concentration of our energies the light of the Gospel, they contend, might be effectually thrown upon some single province; and would thence emanate, as from a new point of radiance, to illuminate the rest. This reasoning, which they have confined to the provinces of Hindostan, may confidently be extended to the kingdoms of Asia. If Tanjore, which from the indefatigable toils of it's apostles appears to be the best disposed for the reception of the Christian doctrines, would advantageously receive and transmit the result of our united labours, India itself, on the same ground of argument we may infer, will become the centre of a wider sphere of conversion; the focus, whence future missionaries may diverge to traverse the snows of Tibet, the wall of China, and the recesses of Japan. Whatever therefore is here suggested upon this most interesting subject, will be referred principally to Hindostan; a region, to the greatest part of which we have entire access, while the gates of the other oriental empires are either cautiously opened for our introspection, or rigidly barred

(2) Vid. "Memoirs of the Baptist-Mission," *passim*.

against us by the jealousy of commerce or of power. As it has been satisfactorily proved that the religions of Buddha, Brahma, and Fo are only the varieties of a superstition, in it's more permanent characteristics specifically the same, the means most suitable for the introduction of knowledge and true religion amongst our own subjects, would with a few slight modifications (to be determined by local and temporary circumstances) be the best adapted to diffuse these inestimable blessings over the other portions of the Eastern world.

I. To communicate the leading and indisputable truths of Christianity seems to be the first great object, which solicits our attention. When this is well accomplished, the execution of the rest will be comparatively easy. We must not, however, blind ourselves to the difficulty of the undertaking. To conduct it to a full and prosperous issue, we must studiously pre-concert and digest our plans. We must liberally allow for the differences of climate, of manners, and of laws: our conduct must be distinguished by it's candour, and tolerance, and moderation. In our chief adversaries, the Imams and the Brahmins, we must anticipate the pertinacity induced by interest, by prejudice, and by habit: in our hearers we must be prepared to meet languor, or perverseness; in our converts schism, or apostasy. We must level our topics to the apprehensions, and our arguments to the weaknesses, of our followers: while we convince their judgment, we must impress their imagination: the ritual, which we prescribe, must be perspicuously constructed and punctually observed; the truths, which we inculcate, must be delivered with colloquial plainness and systematic precision, must borrow strength from every fair collateral expedient, and derive illustration from every domestic and familiar incident of Indian life.

To descend into more minute detail. It has been recommended by the immortal Sir William Jones, as the only human mode of introducing Christianity into Hindostan, that one of the evangelists, with selections from the Jewish prophets (from those parts of them especially, which are made the

more immediate subjects of Gospel-reference) should be translated into the Sanscrit and the Persian languages; that to this should be annexed a simple statement of evidence, proving the long interval between the delivery of the predictions and their accomplishment; and that the whole should then be quietly thrown into circulation amongst the well-educated natives. The experience, however, of the first propagators of the Gospel affords abundant testimony, that a vital and practical religion does not usually find among the well-educated, or in the higher classes of the community, it's earliest supporters. To dissent upon almost any subject (and, more particularly, upon one connected with the literature of the East) from the revered authority of Sir William Jones, in whom it is questionable whether genius or industry or philanthropy was the prevailing excellence, presents the appearance at least, as the writer is fully aware, of considerable presumption. But Socrates and Plato must give way to truth; and when he recollects the importunate inquiries of the Jewish infidels respecting the Messiah, *Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?* he cannot but conclude with the apostle Paul that, in the original adoption of a divine faith, *the wise, the mighty, and the noble* are frequently preceded by *the foolish, the base, and the despised.* The truths in fact, of which we are speaking, are such that, whatever deference may on other occasions be justly due to the teacher from his illiterate audience, no particular condescension can in the present instance be required. Plain in their own nature, they are as obvious to the reason of the peasant as to that of the philosopher. In addition then to the above documents, we should probably find it serviceable to our great cause to distribute short and approved treatises in the popular dialects of India:—such, for example, as that of Leslie containing his "Four Marks," with a particular application to the legends of her multiform Vishnu; a brief abstract of the Scripture-history, including a comparison of the vicious divinities of Hindostan with the pure author and object of Christian worship; Paley's chapter on prophecy, some perspicuous forms of catechism, a few simple

hymns adapted to the favourite national airs of the Hindus, and such other tracts on the absurdities of their traditions and ceremonies and the relatively light burthen of the Gospel, as might be cheaply circulated and easily perused. Amongst a people proverbially indolent, "a great book" would certainly be "a great evil." Bulk, at all times an equivocal criterion of value, would present an insurmountable obstacle to the first step of the lazy and frivolous Asiatic: and a trite essay in duodecimo might attract and secure that attention, which would shrink from the voluminous eloquence of a Taylor or a Barrow.

It must not be dissembled however that, before we can expect an adequate field for the exertions of our missionaries, the predominancy of the Hindu priesthood must be destroyed. So long as the Brahmins continue to be necessary to all the ordinary concerns of civil life; so long as they are privileged to direct the dress, prescribe the food, regulate the marriages, and determine the professions of their followers; and authoritatively hold over the disobedient the terrours of expulsion from their class—a penalty, in the irretrievable loss of family, friends, and honour, involving a degree of suffering, which Rome in her proudest hour was never able to inflict—their subversion is impossible. *Tout Indien* (these are the words of La Croze) *qui embrasse le Christianisme, est absolument banni de sa tribe, et abandonné aux insultes de toute sa nation.* Dreadful sentence! most dreadful, because irrevocable! Against him, who is authorized to pronounce it, what heart can be so hardy as to rebel!

This distribution then into Castes, even if it be not rigidly precise, as from it's hostility to the strongest principles of our nature and from the varying accounts of travellers some have ventured to surmise, must likewise be done away; or it will fatally disappoint not only our hopes of converting the Hindus, but also our more humble project of promoting their civil improvement. While the moral principle is sapped by an endless succession of sacrifices and penances and lustrations, the social feeling is annihilated by

unnatural distinctions, and the intellectual spark extinguished by a total want of nutrition and encouragement. Monstrous however as this abuse is, it is so artfully blended with the whole frame of their superstition, that they must exist or perish together. That they cannot be subdued by the direct assault either of arguments or of arms, if under any circumstances the latter could be employed as legitimate auxiliaries, has been fully proved not only by our own recent experience, but by the concurrent testimony of the old records of India. Our experiment indeed has hitherto been tried on a very limited scale, but with abundant zeal and perseverance. The members of the Baptist-mission have been indefatigable in preaching, translating, printing, and disseminating the doctrines, simple and mysterious, of general Christianity; yet the number of natives converted is still less than that of the years employed in their conversion: and the annals of Hindostan, in their relation of the effects of Mohammedan ferocity, abundantly evince that the compendious logic of the sword has not been productive of a more favourable result. Satisfied that the Deity not only tolerates but approves a variety of religions, on the same principle upon which the painter multiplies his figures and colours, and the gardener diversifies his grounds with intermingled shrubs and flowers, the votaries of Brahma are inflexibly resolute to resist all change; and reject not more firmly the preacher of other opinions, than the proselyte to their own. Upon a population thus prejudiced, destitute of all masculine energy of intellect, yet superiour to the fear of tortures and of death, how little can reason, how little (were it justifiable to use it) could violence prevail [3]?

What reason however cannot directly achieve, may often be not less honourably accomplished by circuitous methods.

Hác non successit, aliá adgrediemur viá.

The faith in his Vedas, which the Hindu will not surrender to our arguments,

(3) Force, indeed, is wholly out of the question. "Truth cannot be engraved upon the

may be gradually directed to the events of an authentic revelation: his attachment to his own ceremonies may be weakened, when he observes the greater simplicity and pertinency of ours: the auspicious effects of our civil institutions may enhance his estimation of those, which are religious; and when in the fane of genuine Christianity he discovers neither the sanguinary intolerance of the mosque, nor the gross imposition of the pagod, the evidences of the Gospel may engage and secure his attention. If to these oblique influences we add, what of all the indirect means of conversion is perhaps the most efficacious, the "visible rhetoric" of a good life; if we solicit the confidence of the lower and more popular Castes by our kindness, their respect by our proficiency in sciences and arts, and their gratitude by our communication of those benefits; we may then, in our struggles with their spiritual leaders, advance to more avowed and more active hostility. It will not require much depth of research to detect, nor in the present state of our Eastern power much intrepidity to expose, their hallowed and gainful hypocrisy. Without incurring the imputation of imprudent daring, we may point out to their followers where they lie, couched like the tiger, and ready to spring upon their devoted prey. From the thickets of their superstition, we may trace them to the recesses of their sensuality; from their savage obsequies on the banks of the Holy River, or their murderous processions in honour of Jagrenaut, to the voluptuous interiours of Chillambrum or Seringham. We may fearlessly open their legal code, with the certainty of

heart with the point of the sword, neither can the understanding be illuminated with flaming faggots," said an English judge of primitive integrity: "*Non est religionis cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet non vi,*" said a Father of the early Christian Church. These are maxims of universal application; but with reference to Hindostan, and to our connexion with it, they are enforced by numberless prudential and political considerations. To act indeed upon the negative of them (if with thirty thousand Europeans, amidst twice as many millions of natives, we could for a moment entertain so wild a project) would be as hopeless, as it would be barbarous. They, who have steadfastly grasped their faith under the keen edge of the Arabian scimitar, would cling to it with equal pertinacity amidst the fires of the Inquisition.

finding, in every page, the testimonies of their crafty and interested legislation. Here we may lay our finger on the presumptuous passage, in which they pronounce themselves a portion of the Godhead, " invulnerable, inviolable, and immortal :" there we may point to the partial paragraph, by which they are permitted to descend from their sacerdotal eminence, to occupy lucrative or honourable stations in military life. Documents of their avarice, ambition, and self-indulgence will every where press upon our notice. By thousands of individual references, we may prove that they are not of that superiour and unearthly nature, which they arrogate: we may excite a contempt of them, by displaying the absurd and gratuitous incarnations of their favourite Deity: we may awaken suspicion, by commenting on the privilege, reserved to themselves, of reading and interpreting their sacred books; a privilege, guarded by the infliction of severe penalties upon those of the lower Castes, by whom it is infringed.

If we can once succeed in drawing our hearers by the talisman of knowledge from the fatal circle, within which for so long a time they have been inclosed, the spell is dissolved. Anxious to learn, and capable of learning, they will advance with accelerated speed in the paths of science and religion. The advantages of British refinement, and the blessings of protestant Christianity, will open on their view. From our commerce they will obtain affluence, from our manners civilization, from our instruction manliness and independence. A certain portion of our spirit of freedom will be diffused, under all the disadvantages of climate, over the plains of Hindostan; and the divine genius of the Gospel will confer emancipation on millions, who are now groaning under the heavy yoke of Brahminical superstition.

In our first administration, however, of baptism we must be strictly cautious not to fall into that errour, which proved fatal to the labours of the first missionaries in the West. When through levity or carelessness, influenced by the example of their own chiefs or instigated by their dread of the Spanish power, the Americans crowded to the standard of the cross;

they were admitted by thousands, in a state of gross ignorance respecting the mysteries or the duties of their new faith, and secretly cherishing an undiminished affection for their ancient ceremonies, into the Christian sanctuary. In consequence of this blind zeal of proselyting, " the religious institutions of their ancestors," as we are informed by the elegant historian of those countries, " are still remembered and held in honour both in Mexico and Peru; and, whenever they think themselves out of reach of inspection by the Spaniards, they assemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites [4]." With understandings but little cultivated, and with a range of observation confined almost wholly to objects of sense, the natives of the East will at first perhaps find the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity, even when separated from it's mysteries, not easily to be apprehended. Seldom reflecting upon what is past, or anticipating what is to come, they will only be slightly or transiently affected by the magnificent futurity, which our religion displays. The Hindu, with his habitual negligence, will soon dismiss it from his mind; while the Mohammedan will shrink from it's purity, and return to wallow in the " sensual sty " of his licentious prophet. These conclusions are fully confirmed by the experience of the recent Asiatic missions. The initiatory rite of the Gospel has, therefore, been judiciously suspended over the head of the new Catechumen, till his sincerity is approved by a steady noviciate; and an honourable indifference to the parade of numerous converts has been observed, while the Papal missionaries in China are inscribing upon the forehead of unenlightened myriads the mark of their anti-christian Church.

II. Neither must we be more sanguine in our hopes of rapidly improving the civil condition of our Indian empire. To this, reference has indeed already been incidentally made, in consequence of the close union of the

(4) Robertson's " History of America," b. viii.

spiritual and temporal interests of every community. *Righteousness exalteth a nation.* From the contiguity of the channels, through which the circulation of these vital currents is conducted, they must necessarily often anastomose. Sympathizing completely in the end, they harmonize throughout the course of their progress. Danger is always involved in sudden changes of system of every kind; and plethora is found to be as fatal in it's consequences, as atrophy. It is by a slow developement, that the mind expands for the reception of new modes of thinking. Opinion, which alone can give permanency to regulation, is of tardy growth; and to transplant the oak of the British forest, in it's mature state, to the banks of the Ganges would be a feat of as easy accomplishment, as to communicate with instantaneous effect to the tropical regions of Asia a code of laws and manners, the growth of a distant country, and ripened by a succession of ages in the latitudes of the North. As well might we expect the Hindu [5] to *change his skin*, as in a moment to renounce his customs, endeared by long familiarity and consecrated by Brahma himself. Neither are the *falsæ voces* only to be unlearned: the true accents also are to be acquired. An entire regeneration in short of the whole man is to take place, in an instant, from the magical operation of some unknown, unsolicited, and at first probably unpalatable laws!

Unthinking benevolence may be productive of as much mischief, as deliberate malignity. We must follow the genius, observe the habits, and respect to a considerable degree the prejudices, of such a mighty mass of people. Their involuntary ignorance must be treated with tenderness, and some degree of regard must be extended even to their erroneous customs, as

(5) The aboriginal inhabitants of India, on account of their great disproportion *à majori* to the rest of it's population, have been chiefly referred to throughout this Essay. Mohammedanism, in that country, is incidental and imperfect. It's professours affect to belong to Castes, and imbibe many other pollutions from the contiguous idolatry of their dependents.

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.

well as to their irrational modes of worship [6]. We are not to estimate the future river, at it's influx into the ocean, from the gushing of it's source. It is one of the eternal laws of nature, that what is great must be produced by great efforts. This is the gestation of the elephant.

With a view then to the melioration of our subjects in Hindostan, one of our first efforts, whether we look to their civil or to their religious improvement, should be the establishment of a Christian Caste or tribe. To attain this end, in opposition to the strong resistance of Eastern prejudices, will probably be an achievement of extraordinary difficulty. But when it is considered, that the convert inevitably loses his original Caste by communion with strangers; and that this forfeiture, severe in the extreme to himself, descends with undiminished rigour to his posterity, we cannot deem any honourable exertions to obviate it's terrours too laborious. If seclusion in one of the solitary cells of a British gaol, with the assurance of a speedy restoration to the cheerfulness and comforts of social life, be justly regarded by the criminal as one of the heaviest of penalties, what must be the dismay produced in the mind of the timid Hindu, when he contemplates that "total eclipse," in the disastrous shade of which his unoffending little ones, and their posterity, are equally with himself to be for ever included!

Unaccustomed, and from his ignorance of all moral symbols and modes of computation unqualified, to calculate the relative merits of theological systems,

(6) Not however to the immoral length of tolerating the Mohammedan in his polygamy (as recommended by Madan, Thelyphth. ii.) or the Hindu in his horrid immolation of widows, and in his throwing propitiatory infants into the sacred stream. Verelst also, in his "View of the English Government in Bengal," contends for the continuance of polygamy, as the law of the climate! for the seclusion of females, as immutable! &c. See likewise Hodges' "Travels in India," Craufurd's "Sketches of the Hindus," &c. That the self-devotion of the widow is not always a voluntary act, some horrid proofs are given in a note to the "Memoirs of the Baptist-Mission" (i. 57. ii. 245.) a work of great piety, humility, and zeal. The number of Indian infants and young persons, annually offered to the genius of the stream, has been estimated at five and twenty or thirty thousand.

he may well hesitate, before he pronounces upon himself and his issue the terrible sentence of political and social suicide[7]. The partial famine, to which he is instantly consigned, is but a trivial earnest of the horrours in reserve for him; when his touch will be sufficient to induce even Famine herself to reject her scanty morsel with disgust, and his very shadow will pollute the unfortunate being, upon whom it may casually rest. If the project however, here suggested, be practicable, an asylum will be opened for his reception, which, providing a double remedy for the shame and the suffering inflicted by this inexorable resentment, may supply him at once with society and with employment. Both these ends will be attained to an extent, proportioned to the wealth and the authority of the members of the newly-constituted tribe. If a few of the brahmins or khatrys, especially such as possess extensive territorial influence; if a rajah or a powerful zemindar could be won by the spirit of that Gospel, which, though emphatically *preached to the poor*, has numbered amongst it's earliest professours a member of the Jewish sanhedrim, of the Athenian areopagus, and of the Roman senate, the countenance and resources of the illustrious converts would be speedily effectual for the proselyting of multitudes. The necessity of such an institution, as we have intimated, is strongly evinced by the documents exhibited in the Baptist-Accounts, to which the present Essay has so frequently referred: and, as it might cautiously admit the more deserving Parias (or outcasts) of well-attested integrity, it would probably swell in progress of time, from the size of *a small cloud, like a man's hand*, till it over-shadowed the giant superstition, and covered with freshness and fertility the burning deserts of Hindostan.

Many subordinate plans, of contemporary execution, now press at once upon our view. While Societies, philosophical and literary, and Universities,

(7) Verelst, in the work above-quoted, states that a person once degraded may be restored by the general suffrage of his own Caste, the sanction of the Brahmins, and the concurrence of the supreme civil power. Hopeless contingency!

with their accompaniments of lectures, museums, and printing-presses, would more exclusively be demanded for the illumination of the great and affluent, Schools, of the nature which in Great-Britain would be called parochial, should every where be established for the instruction of the lower classes of the community.

Literary Societies, under proper regulations, have always promoted the diffusion of valuable knowledge. By the collision of mind with mind, truth is elicited. The Asiatic Society, founded twenty years ago under the auspices of Sir William Jones, distrusting their own powers of acquiring and communicating information, invited with dignified and honourable condescension the literati of the West to assist their researches for the benefit of mankind. O noble challenge! O virtuous competition! 'Philosophy and Piety may well exult in contemplating individuals, disjoined by half the circumference of the globe, amidst languages, manners, and pursuits the most dissimilar, harmonizing in one benevolent exercise of their faculties, and combining to multiply the sources of universal happiness!'

Seminaries likewise of different characters, adapted to the different stages of education or to the different ranks of the educated, the School and the University, will be found essential to the progress of science, and calculated to give it rapidity, extent, and permanence. Of the erection of Universities a magnificent example has already been exhibited in the College, recently founded at Fort-William, under the auspices of the Honourable the Directors of the East-India Company, and the more immediate orders and inspection of the Governor General, the Marquis Wellesley; a nobleman, as a Roman would have pronounced him, familiar with both the Minervas, and qualified equally to conciliate the suffrages of the senate, and to control the fortunes of the field. On a topic like this, the writer finds it difficult to restrain himself within the bounds of legitimate digression, when he sees the favourite and successful system of his own Cambridge flourishing in the capital of Bengal; when he hears disputations supported, in the different dialects of that

immense country, upon moral topics of the highest local interest, under names once familiar and ever grateful to his ear [8]. But without indulging in partialities, however venial, it is his duty to suggest the valuable purposes, which this and similar establishments promise to effect. By systematic regulation and discipline they secure attention to a due course of study, which had previously been dependent on individual fancy or accidental situation: and to perpetuate these advantages, as far as is permitted by the frailty of all human projects, they are calculated to transmit to future times, by the uniformity of public institution, whatever benefit can be derived from present examples of wisdom, virtue, and learning. Hence also the future ministers of our Indian government may be selected, with the greatest advantage to our subjects and ourselves: ministers, who will best know how to exert it's energies in war, to cultivate and augment it's resources in peace; "to maintain, with honour and respect, it's relations with the native powers; and to establish (under a just and benignant system of internal administration) the prosperity of our finances and commerce on the solid foundations of the affluence, happiness and confidence of a contented and grateful people [9]."

In Mr. Burke's celebrated speech on East-Indian affairs in 1783, it was strongly urged, as an instance of fatal abuse in our management of that empire, that "young men (boys almost) govern there, without society and without sympathy with the natives. They have no more social habits with the people, than if they still resided in England; nor indeed any species of intercourse, but that which is necessary to making a sudden fortune with a view to a remote settlement. Animated with all the

(8) It will be readily understood, that the writer refers to the terms *opponent, moderator*, &c., used in the late public examination (March, 1803) at the new College.

(9) See Marquis Wellesley's Address to the Students, &c. It would be unjust not to mention the judicious plan, lately adopted by the Honourable the Directors of the East-India Company, for an establishment of a similar nature at Hertford.

avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave; and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives, but an endless hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetites continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting. Their prey is lodged in England; and the cries of India are given to seas and winds to be blown about, in every breaking up of the monsoon, over a remote and unhearing ocean." This statement will be perused with augmented interest, when it is considered that by the late accessions to our Eastern territory, and it's growing importance to our welfare, we have now a much more valuable property at stake, a more extended frontier to defend, and a broader surface of population to maintain in tranquillity; that in the multitudes of Hindostan we cannot hope, under the most favourable combination of circumstances, to be without enemies; αλλα και μισει τις ἡμας, και δεδιεν, και φθονει, και των παυυ νυν δοκουντων οικειως εχειν ἡμιν· and that a malignant European foe, indefatigable in the pursuit of advantages and inexorable in the use of them, watches every opportunity of annoying us in that paradise of our commerce, and of infusing venom into the ear of India,

> Assaying with his devilish art to reach
> The organs of her fancy.

To obviate the effects of these secret machinations, if we consider the question merely in it's political bearings, who so competent as merchants and military characters, attached to their interests from an enlightened conviction of their being identified with their own; as envoys, rendered familiar with their languages, their manners, and their customs? What so likely to generate this conviction, and to increase this familiarity, as an academical establishment, having these objects chiefly if not solely in it's contemplation? We may add however, as it's further and less direct consequences, that it will assimilate the studies, and thus give unity to the principles and the systems,

of the three distinct Presidencies; and, by patronizing and producing elementary and other works in the department of oriental literature, facilitate it's diffusion through the remotest provinces of the East: that it will supply the means of studying the laws, and comparing the former modes of government in those countries with their respective effects; of contracting within due bounds the monstrous extravagancies of their chronology, one of the last remaining weak posts of modern scepticism; and of ascertaining their geography, and the products of their soil, many of them turgid perhaps with salubrious juices inspissated by a vertical sun: and that, in union with British science, it will open new sources of national wealth in those hitherto neglected regions.

But, in a religious aspect, Institutions of this kind will eventually be productive of still more beneficial and important results. At the first propagation of the Gospel, a knowledge of languages was miraculously communicated, both as an attestation of it's truth, and for the purpose of expediting it's progress. What, for causes which no longer exist, was at that time supernaturally imparted, is now to be attained only by the ordinary exertions of human industry. Neither are we, in the discharge of this arduous part of our duty, without the recompense of present reward. Accepted by the Hindus, as a compliment to their national prejudices, the study of their learned and vernacular tongues has already proved highly conciliatory. In the investigation of the Sanscrit more particularly, long buried as it has been under the political lava of many successive invasions, much has occurred to instruct and to gratify. We have scarcely passed the outer wall of this literary Herculaneum, and glittering fragments of great weight and purity appear on every side of us. The Christian scholar, especially, is delighted to meet, in the short progress which has hitherto been made, with many bright confirmations of the Mosaic story.

As subsidiary to colleges, and of more extensive efficacy with reference to

the great mass of population, Schools also should be erected. With these instruments chiefly, have the minds of the negroes in the interiour of Africa been led by their Mohammedan conquerors to relative refinement. Civilized by the introduction of Arabian science, with the information they have imbibed the superstition of their teachers. It was the suggestion of the enlightened Washington [10], that schools should be established throughout America at the public expence. In countries, where they have long subsisted, their beneficial consequences, in the prevention of crimes and the promotion of industry and morality, have been strikingly conspicuous. In Scotland, and in Switzerland, the benevolent Howard found the gaols more empty than in any other parts of his extensive travels; a fact, which he ascribed wholly

(10) Nor is his successour, if we may trust his own representation, deficient in those attentions, which justice and policy and humanity so imperiously require. In the inaugural speech of the American President, delivered March 4, 1805, is a strong passage relative to the aboriginal inhabitants of that country. "Endowed with the faculties and the rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence, and occupying a country which left them no desire but to be undisturbed, the stream of overflowing population from other regions directed itself on their shores. Without power to divert or habits to contend against it, they have been overwhelmed by the current or driven before it. Now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts; to encourage them to that industry, which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence, and to prepare them in time for that state of society, which to bodily comforts adds the improvement of the mind and morals. We have therefore liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and household use: we have placed among them instructors in the arts of first necessity; and they are covered with the ægis of the law against aggressours from among ourselves.—But the endeavours to enlighten them on the fate which awaits their present course of life, to induce them to exercise their reason, follow it's dictates, and change their pursuits with the change of circumstances, have powerful obstacles to encounter. They are combated by the habits of their bodies. the prejudices of their minds, ignorance, pride, and the influence of interested and crafty individuals among them, who feel themselves something in the present order of things, and fear to become nothing in any other. These persons inculcate a sanctimonious reverence for the customs of their ancestors; that whatever they did must be done through all time; that reason is a false guide, and to advance under it's counsel in their physical, moral, or political condition is perilous innovation; that their duty is to remain as their Creatour made them, ignorance being safety and knowledge full of danger."

to the more regular instruction of their lower classes. Well therefore may the law, by which parish-schools were founded in the former of those countries, challenge comparison with any act of legislation recorded by history, whether we consider the wisdom of the end, the simplicity of the means, or the provision made for ensuring the effect. If we compare the statement of the profligacy of his nation given by that high-minded statesman, Fletcher of Saltoun [11], about the time of the institution of these schools, with the present annals of her criminal calendar; and if we reflect upon the cultivated state of intellect, the humble piety, steadfast loyalty, and active humanity discernible even in her lowest peasantry, we cannot be doubtful with respect to the efficacious and invaluable cause. To be taught to read only, greatly promotes both the comprehension and the practice of religion. This with the distribution of the versions and tracts, which have been recommended, will best qualify the people to judge for themselves upon that important topic. Their faith will rest upon something more solid than mere human authority. Like the Bereans of old, they may *search the scriptures daily, whether these things be so.*

As education (particularly, that of a religious kind) is diffused, civilization, rural œconomy, and morality with their certain consequences, affluence and

(11) The statute of the Scotish Parliament, by which these schools were founded in 1646, was repealed on the Restoration in 1660, as unsanctioned by the royal assent; but it was re-enacted, in precisely the same terms, in 1696. In 1698, Fletcher states that there could not be fewer than "100,000 vagabonds living in that country, without any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land, or even to those of God and nature:" that "no magistrate could at any time discover, whether or not they had ever been baptized, or in what way one in a hundred went out of the world:" that "they were frequently guilty of robbery, and sometimes of murder;" and that "at country-weddings, markets, burials, and other public occasions they were to be seen (both men, and women) perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together." What a contrast to Burns' "Cotter's Saturday night!"

A school has already been established at Serampour, the Danish settlement near Calcutta, for 20 native children, whose parents are either Christian, or are willing to lose Caste; and the funds for their support have been nearly furnished by a subscription of the religious public of Bengal.

augmented population, will follow in it's train. *Abeunt studia in mores.* From the reluctant submission and frequent rebellions of the subdued Rajahs, the Mohammedans might have inferred what Mr. Burke somewhere emphatically calls "the ill-husbandry of injustice." We shall profit by their experience; and in the increased resources of our finance, and still more in the affectionate attachment of our fellow-subjects we shall receive, even at present, *our exceeding great reward.*

Now will exulting congregations throng to hear *the glad tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.* The pagodas of Vishnu and Shiva will be universally dispossessed, as they have recently been in some parts of Tanjore [12], of their horrid idols, and converted into Christian churches: The *hallowed axe and hammer* will ring through the land: Sabbaths will be instituted, and the cheerful sound of village-bells will announce the welcome return of the day of devotion and repose: the purified edifices will echo with the accents of genuine religion, uttered by British tongues in the respective dialects of Bengal, Guzerat, and Malabar: the humble responses of rustic piety will rise, like incense, to heaven: the mass of the people will be inspired with those feelings of truth and justice, and with that reverence for an oath, which is essential to the safety of the social state; and, while at the footstool of the Throne of Grace they unite in acknowledging their common dependence upon God, and dismiss from their breasts every selfish and ungenerous regard, their long-expected Avatar [13] will take place, not

(12) It is satisfactory to state that the Rajah of this country, from respect to the memory of it's great apostle, Swartz (whom he has honoured with a monument) protects the Christian converts, and allows divine service in the Tamulian to be continued in the two forts of Tanjore.

(13) The Avatars or descents of the Deity, in the Hindu mythology, are ten, nine of which have already happened. In the one still future, the Divine Being is to appear as a mighty angel, leading a white and winged horse. Between these and some Jewish traditions Dr. Allix, in his "Judgment of the Jewish Church," has discovered a surprising parallelism.

(as they fondly trust) with the disastrous splendour of temporal conquest, but in the silent and soft illapse of the Divine Spirit into the regenerated heart.

From the direct and obvious modes of conveying instruction, I pass to such as, though more oblique in their application, are perhaps little less effective in their result: and here it will be necessary to premise a few words, with respect to the Chartered Society of Merchants trading to the East-Indies.

Whether the continuance of an exclusive Company be favourable or hostile to the accomplishment of the objects in question, is an inquiry in which from it's amplitude I am unwilling, and from it's difficulty incompetent to engage. That it is closely however, perhaps vitally, connected with the subject before us, cannot be denied. By the regulations which have been suggested, and still more perhaps by the measure of which I am next about to speak, their existing system of intercourse with India would assuredly be deeply affected; whether for the better or for the worse, with reference to their private interests, for of the eventual advantage to the British empire there can be no doubt, is probably at present an undrawn conclusion. With regard indeed to the general operation of a commercial charter, the most opposite opinions have prevailed; and great names have arranged themselves on each side of the discussion. One party, drawing their arrows from the quiver of our countryman, Dr. Adam Smith, affirm of the East-Indian Company with suspicious vehemence, that 'it is a nuisance pernicious almost equally to the country in which it is established, and to that with which it trades:' that 'abroad, it confounds the functions of merchant and sovereign, and from their incompatibility abuses both; prefers little transitory profits in possession to large permanent revenues in contingency; by the exclusion of competition keeps down the price of Eastern manufactures, and through the depression of the artist destroys the prosperity

of the husbandman; paralyzes, in short, every principle of Asiatic industry;' and "is in the majority of it's proprietors, from irresistible moral causes, perfectly indifferent about the happiness or misery of it's subjects, the improvement or waste of it's dominions, the glory or disgrace of it's administration:" that, 'at home, it infallibly raises the value of every article, which it imports; limits the introduction of the raw, and the exportation of the wrought, material; and yet under the most invidious partiality of encouragement, in spite of favour and of artifice, has often been impelled to the very edge of that perdition, which has already swallowed up all it's predecessors, the chartered Societies of foreign states; and at present exists only by the generous forbearance of it's injured country.' By the opposite party it is powerfully contended that, 'whatever may be the plausibility of the theory, the experiment of throwing down the enclosure, which appropriates our Indian commerce, was tried in the time of the Protectorate for a period of nearly five years, and completely failed:' that 'all the adventurers, after exciting disgust by their haughtiness or tumults by their turbulence, in the regions which they visited, fell victims to their indiscreet cupidity:' that, 'generally speaking, individual capitals cannot bear the slow returns of a distant and hazardous commerce:' that, 'independently of the grand circulation between those huge extremes of our empire, the capitals of the three Presidencies, and London it's mighty heart, there is one of a minour and more delicate character (like that in the human system, which transmits the blood through the lungs, to prepare it for it's vital functions) between the Company's collectors of revenue, their overseers distributed through different parts of their dominions, the manufacturers, and the ryuts or native peasantry; which it would be dangerous if not fatal to disturb, and difficult if not impossible to recompose;' and that 'this circulation intercepted, first the influence of our government, next our political connexion, and lastly our commerce itself with India would probably perish.' The progress

of this political argument, which has been productive of much altercation, it is not the intention of the writer to state. It seems however to be allowed by many respectable authorities that, whatever might be it's immediate effect upon the traffic of the East, it would be judicious at this point to introduce a gradual and guarded colonization from Europe, as essential to the stability of our Asiatic power.

But, upon this question, the alarm of some is excited by a recollection of the issue of our American colonization. The dissimilarity of the two cases, which must infallibly operate to dissipate such an apprehension, has been stated with much precision and perspicuity by a writer of considerable talents in the Edinburgh Review [14]. Generated by persecution, and thriving from neglect, the establishments of the West owed little gratitude to the parent-state. Protected at first by their poverty, and long afterward by their remoteness, they sprang up with a love of freedom and a consciousness of importance, which ultimately provoked a melancholy struggle with the mother-country, embittered by mutual excesses, and ending in the total disruption of the ties of nature and policy. Our colonists in the opposite quarter of the globe will enter, not (like the original emigrants to America) on wastes and forests, the haunts of scattered and vagrant hordes of savages, but upon tracts in many places occupied by a numerous and a partially-civilized population; and can only by a systematic union amongst themselves, and a close combination with Great-Britain, be enabled to surmount the perils, which in their unsettled state they must be prepared to encounter, of insurrection at home and of invasion from abroad. With respect to the

(14) No. vii. p. 305. To this able and ingenious critic the author is likewise under obligations for some of his subsequent remarks upon the agriculture of Hindostan, and for other occasional illustrations of his subject. On a topic like this indeed, which would have demanded at least Horace's term of years for composition, revision, &c. and upon which opportunities of personal or local observation are scarcely to be presumed in a youthful writer, much of what is advanced must virtually partake of the nature of a cento.

former, especially, their numbers and diffusion will be necessary to check those conspiracies amongst the natives, which will be fomented with secret and subtle industry by our inveterate European enemy. We have not forgotten his appointment of Agents (as a part of the late peace establishment) in many of our principal sea-ports; nor the crude mixture of whining sensibility and political intrigue, by which, in his instructions to the missionaries [15] (one of the many fruits of his recent zeal for Christianity!) he "recalls, with tender emotion, to the minds of the young enthusiasts the services rendered to humanity by Bartholomew de las Casas, Xavier, Vincent de Paul, Lamy, Tachard, &c.;" and concludes, by enjoining them to "acquire every possible intelligence respecting the commercial capabilities of the countries, to which they are sent!" He has elsewhere [16] professed his fixed purpose of "forming multiplied and permanent relations with India, of learning and consulting the interests of her different princes, following the course and vicissitudes of their policy, entering into advantageous connexions with them, and thus placing himself in a situation to profit by the chances of fortune!"—in other terms, to sap the British power in Hindostan, and upon it's ruins to erect his own. But these, if the meditated introduction of science and Christianity should be effected, will prove to be vain hopes. The benevolence of our motives, the efficacy of our means, and the magnitude of the end will attach the natives too strongly to their present protectours, to admit of their being seduced by the great Deceiver.

Others again have urged, that the mild and unaspiring Hindu, if once he catch from co-habitation a portion of the characteristic spirit, or receive an

(15) Their number is to be five hundred; of whom fifty are destined for the East-Indies (to preach piety, no doubt, and observance of oaths to the Mahratta princes) one hundred for China, one hundred for Africa and America, fifty for the South-Sea Islands, twenty for the savages of Canada, and the rest, one hundred and eighty! for the refined population of France!

(16) In a Memoir of M. Briere de Surgy on the Indian Trade, published in M. Herbin's "Statistique generale et particulière de la France et de ses Colonies."

impression of the civil and political rights of his British teachers, may burst our chains (the more easily, perchance, in consequence of their lightness) and expel us from our dominion. This anticipated change, as far as it substitutes manliness for servility, and elevates the native of India from the rank of a mere automaton [17] to the dignity of a thinking creature, would surely be highly desireable, and must for Christianity be most honourable. But Christianity teaches no wild lessons of impracticable or useless independence: the spiritual equality, of which she every where speaks, is accompanied by explanations and correctives which, far from levelling, oppose the firmest obstacles to the encroachments of insubordination. Common nature, as it may be hoped, would not exert it's newly acquired energies in stinging the bosom, by the fostering warmth of which it had been awakened into animation; and to Christian nature such a deed would be impossible. On the contrary we may conclude that, with a grateful sense of the inestimable boon of our arts and our religion, as soon as they can properly appreciate their value, instead of regarding us with suspicion or of rejecting us with coldness, the benefitted people will embrace us as brethren, and will reverence us as saviours. A circulation of services and requitals will be established: Great-Britain will protect and enlighten India, and India will enrich and strengthen Great-Britain.

But, till the superstitious prejudices of the Hindus are so far softened as to tolerate the admission of foreigners on the liberal principle here suggested, insulated settlements upon a smaller scale must be made amongst them; either as Colonists, after the example of those at Sierra Leone, who may display the advantages of rural œconomy, supply employment and society to such of the natives, as from the adoption of Christianity may require those supports, and thus imperceptibly exert a beneficial influence over the habits

(17) *Qu?* Is it fanciful to suppose that the character of the Hindus might be invigorated by the introduction of animal food, which is now, with a few exceptions, strictly interdicted by their religion?

and manners of an idolatrous neighbourhood; or as Missionaries on foundations similar to those of the United Brethren, consisting of individuals of both sexes, who by the simplicity and piety of their conduct may still more visibly exhibit the beauty of holiness, prove that they themselves are what they would persuade their hearers to be, and like Oases in the midst of a dreary desert refresh the eye with greenness and fertility.

When, by these and by other means, a more enlarged intercourse shall at length be opened; when we begin to share the rites of hospitality, to contract affinities, and to blend ourselves with our Indian fellow-subjects in all the endearing relations of private life, then may the rich harvest of our preceding labours be expected,

——*et incipient magni procedere menses.*

Of this more intimate connexion, one of the first and most important consequences will be the improvement of the agriculture of Hindostan. This, though in some respects favoured by their religious system, is generally at present, from many concurring causes, in a most wretched state. Rude in their implements, slovenly in their practice, and ignorant to a surprising degree of the most simple principles of their vocation, the peasantry of India throw away their time and toil in ill-directed efforts. Their ploughs, which make little impression even upon the lightest soils, are wholly unequal to the resistance of new and loamy countries, such as in particular is that of Bengal; their harrows, still more primitive in their construction, are boughs broken from the nearest tree. Unacquainted with the prime necessity of manure to renovate, and of the rotation of crops to relieve the exhausted earth; with the uses of green crops to encrease the quantity of subsistence and manure, or the value of artificial grasses to supply the native vegetation, when checked by the excessive heats; with the proper seasons for ploughing and sowing, and the most advantageous methods of reaping the produce; with the inestimable benefit of enclosures, and the judicious principle of confining each field for the year to a single species of grain; the

Hindu farmer, notwithstanding the number of his harvests and the fertility of his soil, the object (as he may be considered) of the most prodigal beneficence of nature, is for ever trembling on the verge of beggary and famine. To this however the fluctuation of rent, which is made by the Zemindar [18] (or next superiour landlord) to depend upon the success of the year, and the total want of capital in the tenant, more fatally contribute than all the other causes which we have enumerated; the latter denying the means, while the former annihilates the very spirit, of agricultural improvement. From the introduction alone of British wealth, skill, and enterprize can these miserable beings [19] ever experience any substantial amendment of their condition. With a formidable opinion of our energy, and a favourable impression of our benevolence [20], they have already begun to show a partiality for our manners and customs. They have condescended at our suggestion to cultivate the potatoe, which fortunately thrives best in those seasons of drought, in which their rice-crops are least productive: they have engaged in the management of

(18) It would be impossible in this place to discuss the question, whether the Zemindar be a mere collectour of revenues, removeable at pleasure (as asserted by Mr. Grant in his valuable "Inquiry into the Nature of Zemindary Tenures, &c.") or an hereditary feodary under the Great Mogul (as contended by Mr. Rous, and Sir William Jones); though the question be of considerable importance with reference to the alteration of tenure, &c. necessary to secure the interests of the cultivator. In Mr. Verelst's valuable "Form of Instructions to Supra-visors," the distinctions of land into Jaghires, Taluks, Coss, Comar, Ryutty, &c., and their respective abuses, are well ascertained.

(19) The penury and wretchedness of the Ryuts is attested by Craufurd, in his "Sketches of the Hindus," from personal observation. "One of them showed me his feet covered with blisters, by being alternately in the water and on the scorching ground; and, pointing to some coarse rice and a few pepper-pods, said; 'This is all we have in return.' I am sorry to add, that I fear he gave but too faithful a representation of the state of some millions beside himself."

(20) In no instance, perhaps, more unequivocally or more successfully evinced, than by our recent introduction of the vaccine inoculation into the East. It will require great vigilance on our part, and some address, to prevent it's acting toward the confirmation of their superstitious opinion of the divinity of the cow, which has undoubtedly facilitated it's reception. With this caution however it will prove a blessing, of which, from the previous ravages of the small-pox, the effects are scarcely to be calculated. It has already established itself in the greatest part of Hindostan, Ceylon, &c.

indigo, and have learnt the art of ship-building. An attempt has been made to transfer the cochineal-plant from the forests of Mexico to the groves of Bengal, and the bread-fruit tree flourishes at Madras. With the new settlers new plans of melioration will be imported, and the experience of former benefits will, as we may reasonably conclude, induce their ready adoption. India abounds in navigable rivers; but these, in consequence of the sudden swell to which they are liable in the higher and more contracted part of their channel from the monsoons, and from the bore or sudden influx of the tide near their opening into the sea, are extremely hazardous. In the formation, however, of canals (a mode of communication the more necessary in Bengal, as that province is destitute of materials for the making of roads) and in the distribution of water for the purposes of irrigation, these rivers afford the greatest facilities. The ruined reservoirs[21], "many of them works of royal grandeur, intended to preserve the precious deposit of the periodical rains," will be repaired; new ones will be constructed; receptacles will be formed, and embankments raised, to guard against the present ruinous effects of sudden inundations: fresh systems of medicine, improved processes in the arts, more efficient agricultural implements, new seeds, useful applications of the indigenous gums and resins will be introduced: property will be protected; and in lieu of their present dreariness the valleys of India, now literally "vales of tears," will *stand so thick with corn that they shall laugh and sing*.

(21) "Formed as described by Mr. Burke, in his speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, in 1785) in the happier times of India, for the greater part, of mounds of earth and stones, with sluices of solid masonry; the whole constructed with admirable skill and labour, maintained at a mighty charge, and varying from an extent of two or three acres to five miles in circuit." "There cannot be in the Carnatic and Tanjore alone fewer than 10,000 of these reservoirs of the larger and middling dimensions, to say nothing of those for domestic services, and the use of religious purification."

These, and some other Eastern speculations, would form an opportune subject for our West-Indian capital; if from the proximity of the new empire of Hayti, or other causes, any part of it should be thrown out of it's present employment.

But here again the necessity of caution, as a principle most essential both from the magnitude and the delicacy of the undertaking, recurs in it's full force. From the evidence of Mr. Petrie before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1782 it appeared, with reference to the township of Nagore, and by no means as an extraordinary instance, that "some farmers from Madras, strangers to the manners and customs of the people, by their new modes of proceeding threw the whole district into confusion, upon which many deserted the cultivation and left the country." When we thus repeatedly enforce the necessity of circumspection, it would be unjust not to record the tender solicitude of Sir William Jones, to preserve from violation the peculiar laws and the inveterate prejudices of Hindostan. The zeal with which, in his Charges to the Grand Jury of Calcutta, he contends for the reasonable indulgence of the one and the strict observance of the other, as the best means of conciliating the affections and of promoting the industry and happiness of the natives; his careful scrutiny into the forms of adjuration, held as obligatory by the consciences of Hindu witnesses; his assiduity in studying what he himself calls the "difficult and unprofitable" languages, the Arabic and the Sanscrit, in which the laws of the two great divisions of Indian population are written; the earnest representation, which he made to the British government in that country, respecting the necessity of a Digest, by which the particular statutes relative to contracts and inheritances might be simplified; with his judicious suggestion of a plan of the work, and his disinterested generosity in offering to superintend it's execution, are circumstances, which leave us at a loss what part of his character we ought principally to idolize. But his conduct in Hindostan, illustrious and admirable as it was, disclosed only a small portion of his various excellence. The humanity, integrity, affection, unconquerable independence of spirit, and ceaseless activity of intellect, which were discovered through the whole tenour of his life, would have secured to him the love and veneration of his darling country; even if he had never in the pursuit of her interests, incorporated

with those of the human race, crossed the ocean and faded under the sun of India.——But I return.

The right of property once established, by making it's great boundaries distinct, visible, and irremoveable, and leaving nothing to the *jus vagum aut incognitum*, the caprice or the uncertainty of discretionary interpretation, every wheel of the social machine, cleansed from the foulness and rust which it has contracted from the continued neglect of many ages, will resume it's functions with renovated vigour: the husbandman will supply abundant nutriment to the families of the manufacturer, the mechanic, and the artist; and will receive from them, in ample requital, whatever the necessities of his own family may lead him to demand. Influenced by our example, and by considerations of subsistence for themselves and their posterity, the natives will renounce their pernicious pre-maturity of marriage, which is ordained by the laws of the East not to be deferred beyond the eleventh year; and, with this abuse, the concomitant emasculation of character will probably cease. They will begin to cherish a generous propensity to live beyond the grave, in the memory of their descendents, as well as in the bosom of their God. Upon this three-fold base, of secured property, regulated marriage, and tempered self-love, will rise the proud pyramid of Hindu civilization; it's apex surmounted with that true emblem of conversion, a heart exhaling in fervent adoration to Heaven.

The writer has purposely abstained from speaking of the Catholic missionaries, who have issued at different times from the recesses of their cloisters to enlighten the heathen world. Questionable at least in their motives, and equivocal in their success (for their habits and views are seldom such, as to attach credit to their narratives) they seem in general, from the revolutionists of Malabar to the Jesuits of Japan, to have carried along with them a due portion of the secularity of their parent-church. Can we then be surprised that the inhabitants of India, when they saw the wooden images in the pontifical temples, shrunk from the idea of incurring all the privations consequent

to the loss of Caste, in behalf of what they might reasonably esteem to be idolatries not greatly superiour to their own?

Illìc cœruleos, hìc piscem fluminis.

From the failure, therefore, of Popish missions we have no cause to apprehend the unsuccessful issue of ours. As pre-cursours indeed introducing the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, with the blind agency of those natural evils, which occasionally by the permission of the Almighty convulse the physical world, they have unconsciously prepared the way for pure protestantism. For the human mind, any religion is preferable to none. The errours of the Church of Rome, where they are adopted, involve their own eventual refutation. The good will remain. The stream of time, which continually washes away the gaudy and dissoluble additions of human policy, will finally leave in it's own simple grandeur the adamantine rock of Christianity.

III. If "it be glorious to civilize," let us recollect that "it is sublime to convert." Now must be unfolded the peculiar and more recondite doctrines of the Gospel. No barren generalities, which under the names of Christian Philosophy, Rational Christianity, &c. would vainly recommend religion to the unsanctified heart; no mere morality, such as the Ethics of Aristotle or the Offices of Tully would supply, and which might have been as effectually propagated without the death of the original compiler; no dry metaphysics, beyond the reach or the relish of an humble congregation soliciting from our lips the words of life, are now required of us: but a bold appeal to the αυτος εφα of Him, *who spake as never man spake*, for the *mystery of his will*; a plain practical statement of the guilt of man, and of the mode provided for it's expiation, *Repentance toward God and Faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ*, with their invariable result, holiness of life. This will lead to detailed representations of the evil and misery of sin, in it's threefold division, as affecting the heart, the tongue, and the life; the justice of the Deity; the incarnation and sufferings of the Messiah; and the necessity, promise, and

operation of Divine Grace. These all must be urged again and again; must be exhibited in every view, and with every possible illustration, by the means of printing and of preaching, in public and in private. The press in particular, which forwarded the Reformation in Europe, must renew it's mighty efforts, and become a second time the blessed instrument of regenerating another and a far larger portion of the human race. The Preachers [22] muſt be of a spirit affectionate, open, and generous; with the glory of God, and the salvation of their fellow-creatures uniformly in their view. In disputes with their opponents, they must be meek and courteous, but courageous in encountering difficulties and dangers; wholly disengaged from worldly pursuits, that no golden apple, no secular object or interest may tempt them to turn aside from their glorious career; with holy firmness of mind, and freedom of speech in their labours, and an entire dependence upon divine strength for success; uniting the zeal of a Berkeley [23] with the constancy of a Xavier; bold, in short, as lions and *wise as serpents*, yet gentle as lambs and *harmless as doves*—Such must be the amiable and exalted character of those, whose *feet*

(22) That they have hitherto been much too few in number, appears both from the Reports made annually to the Society for promoting Christian knowledge, and from the "Memoirs of the Baptist-Mission." A supply of assistants will soon, it is hoped, be furnished by the natives themselves, who (as in the instance of Satianaden, mentioned in the first of the above authorities) from their local and personal information, as well as from their familiar acquaintance with the idolatries which they are intended to oppose, will be eminently useful. A knowledge of medicine is likewise most desireable in the missionaries, not only for the purposes of safety (as Mungo Park frequently experienced, in his African travels) but as it may give them access to the mind, when softened and prepared by suffering for the reception of religious impressions. It was after setting the arm of Kristno, the first native proselyte to the Baptist-mission, that Mr. Thomas *reasoned with him* till he wept like a child; and his conversion was the eventual consequence.

(23) The benevolent project of the excellent Berkeley "for converting the savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to be erected in the Isles of Bermuda," of which, resigning his opulent preferment (the Deanery of Derry) he offered to become the Superintendent, with the very moderate salary of 100l. per ann., is generally known. See a further account of this generous man, and of his noble project, in Swift's Works (Ed. Nichols, 8vo. 1801.) xii. pp. 103. note, and 124—126.

will be pronounced *beautiful* upon the mountains of India, as the *bringers of good tidings and the publishers of peace.*

Shaken already by the defection of the Seiks[24], a numerous and warlike sect possessing the Panjab, who sprung up about three centuries ago; and by the schism of Dulol (a powerful heretic near Chinsurah) the Brahmins begin to totter. Let us go forth against them, in the simplicity of the Gospel. With the most zealous earnestness let us attack, and never cease till we have overthrown the Goliath-principle, advanced in the front of the Hindu host, that 'the Deity not only admits but admires a variety of religions in his creatures.' With the grand scheme of prophecy in our hands, let us summon the disciples of Mohammed to trace it through 'all it's nice dependencies and gradual evolutions.' Known to them both hitherto chiefly by our energies on the field of victory, let us show them the high virtues in the sanctuary of our character; that they may bless the day, which first beheld us seated on the throne of India: and recollecting with all humility, that the Druidism of Britain was as barbarous as the Brahminism of Hindostan, let us evince our gratitude to our Great Enlightener, by *doing to others* what we now so justly rejoice that *others have done to us.*

Such is our obvious line of duty. If the *fulness of the time* be not yet come, when *all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God*, the purposes of Heaven will baffle the efforts of our premature diligence. But the present appearance of things seems to justify a contrary conclusion. Neither, if our immediate success should be inconsiderable, let us be disheartened; or reject a limited and actual good from indistinct views of something which, under

(24) The Seiks appear determined to avow their hostility to the Mohammedans, by their favourite food, pork; and to the Hindus, by their favourite colour of dress, blue. The followers of Dulol are stated ("Memoirs of the Baptist-Mission," xi. 263.) to have a kind of negative creed: "They believe that Caste is nothing, that the debtahs (or inferiour spiritual orders worshipped by the Hindus) are nothing, that the Brahmins are nothing!" These schismatics already amount to several thousands.

certain assignable contingencies, might be better. We know not the concealed rapidity, with which the grand process may now be going forward. The seed, cast by the husbandman into the ground, is for a time apparently lost: but *it springeth and groweth up, he knoweth not how;—first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.*

These are the brief and imperfect rudiments of a plan, of which the object is undoubtedly one of the most glorious that can be conceived. To have extended our view, if such a measure had been consistent with the limits of a Dissertation, to it's more minute and particular details, would have demanded the local knowledge of a Hastings, united with the genius of a Burke or of a Jones. For us let it suffice, to have sketched the civil and religious wretchedness of Hindostan, to have traced a great outline for her improvement, and to have hailed her dawning glories. In all the dispensations of Providence, extremes often introduce each other. In the common refracting lens the image, after receding (in consequence of the varied position of the object) through every various distance to infinity, suddenly re-appears inverted on the other side of the glass. The bloody conflicts of the two triumvirates, and the vicious refinement of the empire under Augustus, ushered in the Gospel of purity and peace. If the fierce reformers of Ghizni and of Tartary, roused at first by the crying pollutions of Indian idolatry, gradually exchanged their fury of conversion for the frenzy of conquest, and destroyed pagodas rather from the love of their wealth than from an abhorrence of their idols; if this mighty empire, founded by a Tamerlane, extended by a Baber and an Akber, and carried to its greatest altitude by an Aurengzebe, with the ordinary fate of vast usurpations at length fell beneath it's own enormous weight, and made way for the merchants and through them for the missionaries of Europe, we may almost exclaim with Lucan,

—— *Scelera ipsa nefasque*
Hâc mercede placent.

We see, in fact, an Almighty Power controlling the moral elements, as the obsequious servants of his will; from physical evil educing social and civil good, and converting even the sufferings of his creatures into the means of their final salvation.

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